

Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 205611

EXDIS

FOLLOWING RECD FM ANKARA OCT 16 REPEATED TO YOU:

QUOTE

S E C R E T ANKARA 08217

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MARR, PFOR, TU

SUBJ: SOVIET REQUEST FOR OVERFLIGHTS OF TURKEY

REFS: (A) STATE 204600 (B) PARA 11, ANKARA 8207

1. PURSUANT REFTELS, I MET AGAIN THIS EVENING (OCT 16) WITH FOREIGN MINISTER BAYULKEN. I ADVISED HIM THAT, IMMEDIATELY UPON RECEIPT OF MY REPORT OF OUR CONVERSATION EARLIER IN THE DAY THE DEPARTMENT HAD BY RETURN TELEGRAM INSTRUCTED ME TO CALL ON HIM AGAIN TO REITERATE USG CONCERN OVER POSSIBILITY OF TURKS PERMITTING THE OVERFLIGHTS WE HAD DISCUSSED IN THE MORNING AND TO EMPHASIZE OUR CONCERN OVER POTENTIAL RESULTANT DISCRIMINATION AS BETWEEN US AND USSR ACTIVITIES. BAYULKEN AT FIRST DIVERTED CONVERSATION WITH (A) LENGTHY EXPOSITION OF TURK POPULATION'S (" WHICH SECRET

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IS 99.1 PERCENT MOSLEM") SYMPATHY FOR ARAB CAUSE BECAUSE THEY WERE FIGHTING TO REGAIN LOST TERRITORIES OF 1967, (B) REPETITION OF ALL HIS BASIC VIEWPOINTS REGARDING CURRENT ME SITUATION WHICH I HAVE

PREVIOUSLY REPORTED.

2. WHEN I BROUGHT HIM BACK TO THE SUBJECT AT HAND, HE MADE THE FOLLOWING POINTS: (A) THAT, DESPITE TURK POPULATION'S SYMPATHY FOR ARABS, GOT HAD TAKEN ADAMANT NEUTRAL POSITION; (B) THAT HE SHARED USG'S CONCERN OVER POSSIBLE OVERFLIGHTS AND HAD DONE WHAT HE COULD TO HEAD THEM OFF; (C) THAT MONTREUX CONVENTION WAS "OPEN" (IN THE SENSE THAT IT DID NOT GIVE TURKEY CLEAR RIGHT TO BAR SUCH FLIGHTS) AND THIS WEAKENED TURKEY'S POSITION IN THIS SITUATION. I RESPONDED THAT THROUGH AGREEMENTS SUBSEQUENT TO THE MONTREUX CONVENTION, WHICH HE HAD MENTIONED THIS MORNING, AND ON BASIS FO TURKISH PRACTICE WHICH SOVIETS ON EARLIER OCCASIONS HAD ACQUIESCED IN, TURKEY HAD ESTABLISHED BASIS ON WHICH TO OBJECT TO AND PREVENT SUCH FLIGHTS. BAYULKEN SAID THAT THIS WAS TURKISH POSITION, BUT HE HAD NOT YET HAD REPLY FROM SOVIETS, AND, OF COURSE, THEIR VIEWPOINTS ON THIS ISSUE WOULD ALSOBE IMPORTANT FACTOR.

3. I SAID I RECOGNIZED IT WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR, BUT NOT THE CONTROLLING ONE--THAT THE CONTROLLING ONE WAS WHAT TURKEY THOUGHT AND, AS I UNDERSTOOD FROM WHAT THE FOREIGN MINISTER HAD SIAD TO ME, TURKEY'S POSITION WAS CLEAR THAT FLIGHT CARRYING ARMS SHOULD NOT BE PERMITTED. I SAID TURKEY HAD A REPUTATION FOR NOT KNUCKLING UNDER TO FRIENDS AND FOES ON MATTERS OF PRINCIPLE TO WHICH THEY ATTACHED IMPORTANCE, AND I HOPED THEY WOULD FIND A WAY TO AVOID DOING SO ON THIS OCCASION.

4. BAYULKEN SAID THAT THERE WAS NO GETTING AWAY FROM FACT THAT MONTREUX CONVENTION WAS A SOMEWHAT FLEXIBLE DOCUMENT AND THEN NOTED THAT THIS FLEXIBILITY HAD BEEN EMPLOYED BY TURKEY TO USG ADVANTAGE WHEN WE WISHED TO PASS CERTAIN MISSILE-CARRYING DESTROYERS THROUGH STRAITS.

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5. I POINTED OUT THE OBVIOUS DIFFERENCES IN THE TWO SITUATIONS AND NOTED THAT, IN ANY EVENT, IT WAS TURKEY WHICH HAD MADE BASIC DECISIONS IN THE US-TURKISH CASE, JUST AS I ASSUMED IT WOULD BE TURKEY WHICH WOUWD MAKE THE DECISION IN THE USSR-TURKISH QUESTION ABOUT OVERFLIGHTS.

6. THE CONVERSATION THEN WAS CONCLUDED WITH MUTUAL EXPRESSIONS OF HOPE THAT THE PROBLEM COULD BE RESOLVED SATISFACTORILY.

7. COMMENT: WHILE BAYULKEN WAS NON-COMMITTAL, HE DID TRY TO CONVEY TO ME IN THIS MEETING THAT HE WAS DOING

THE BEST HE COULD TO PREVENT THE OVERFLIGHTS. I
BELIEVE THE UNDERSCORING OF OUR CONCERN THROUGH THIS
SECOND MEETING WAS USEFUL, ESPECIALLY A WE UNDERSTAND
THAT THIS MATTER WILL BE DISCUSSED AT THE NATIONAL
SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING TOMORROW.
MACOMBER UNQUOTE
KISSINGER

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

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